this for himself.

/35/ In extremity, the father renounces his son, khatti bizar, bizar khatt, before witnesses. According to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, the bii places his seal on the document (for khatti bizar actually means "a letter of renunciation"). The form of the renunciation is: "If you are killed, I will not demand wergeld for you. If you kill someone, I will not pay wergeld on your behalf." In spite of this statement, however, a father cannot evade the payment of the wergeld for a murder committed by his son after that, unless, when he refuses to pay the wergeld, he permits his son to be killed as a punishment for the murder committed by him. A son who has been expelled by his father goes to one of his relatives.

Sometimes a daughter is given to an ishan or mullah (1) as an offering favorable to God (nazr), provided that he is not within the forbidden degree of kinship, and also sometimes to a blood brother.

1. The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov adds: there are cases when a sick father promises to give his daughter to his ishan if he recovers.

It is said that under the pressure of poverty boys are sometimes sold in the Perovsk uyezd (for 20 sheep for example). The Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov states that now they do not sell children.

A daughter is not sold, for there is a possibility of marrying her off for a small kalym. Bii Sultan Kanev recalls that in a time of famine daughters were sold for 1 or 2 heads of livestock or for 20-30 fillias /monetary unit equal to about 3-4 rubles/, and after the famine was over they demanded before him, bii Sultan, the rest of the payment up to the full kalym. The bii awarded the rest of the payment up to the full kalym of the category of "7 kulundi biya (2) and 2 buidak." (3)

2. Kulundi biya is a mare with a suckling.

3. Buidak is a two year old sheep. On the kalym /bride price/, cf. Chapter VI.

According to customary law there can be no protest against

593 [672] [782]

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671 Buildings raised on the tilled lands of the nomads become their property, on the same bases which have been established for buildings on the winter camps.

Lands which lie under nomadic and livestock driving roads are left to the general use of the area. (1)

1. Articles 270-279 of the code for the administration of the Turkestan region.

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221 Nomadizing (kushpek) is one of the oldest forms of life, and is inherent to the herdsmen because of the fact that the many animals in their herds soon exhaust all the fodder under foot if they remain in one place.

The Kazakhs follow ancient custom in nomadizing even to the present time. They move about in communities of one clan, permitting only kinsmen in the female line or poor men, hiring themselves as workers, into their villages from other clans. Every clan has its precise places of summer (dzhaylyau) and autumn (kuzdyau) nomadizing.

On the eve of their departure from the winter camp they have a feast. After the feast, two fires are lit between the pillars of the gates, or if there are no gates, between a construction built to resemble gates. An older woman, who stands between them, takes a vessel made of a gourd (kabak) and breaks it, saying: "All sorrows have flown away with the breaking of this vessel" (kabak syndy kaygy kitty). Then the same woman takes the camels, which are already loaded, and leads them out of the enclosure. At the same time men, [782] women and children jump across the fires, saying: away, away!. (alas, alas). They go about 5-6 versts from the winter camp, stop, set up their tents, slaughter horses and sheep and arrange a kudai, i.e., a sacrifice to a god. During the slaughtering of the animals, they say: "May we be as happy in /110/ a new place, as we were in the old" (iski dzhurtta isarke dzhanga dzhurtta dzharlyka).

They nomadize in groups (tap tap) of various numbers of tents. Setting out on the road is not determined by the authorities. The master of each tent is free to move or remain, as he wishes. The aksakals, or according to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, rich men, give orders but do not insist. The same is true of the selection of places to stop and the grouping of the tents. In the summer they live

[152 cont.]

175 their wives and children. Finally, the fugutives halted, but in
[167 barren localities offering no support to a nomadic people. It
731] was impossible for the Kazaks to endure such an unhappy situation for long. Of the two scourges which menaced them, it was best to choose the one which promised some advantages, if not for the present at least for the future. Despair drove them to make themselves masters of their old territories, which they could not do without. Danger had snuffed out the flame of dissension and replaced it with unanimity of sentiment, and the efforts of all
[646] were directed to the same end. It was decided in a general assembly of the people to advance, attack the common enemies, and drive them from the lands of the Kazaks. This undertaking was sanctified at once by a common oath to remain faithful to
[643 each other. Khan Abulkhair was chosen as [153] leader of the
782] nation, and the sacrifice of a white horse (1), which was made

1. See the article on "Customs" in the statistical section of this book, for more details. [Not translated.]

according to the custom of this people, was considered a pledge of future peace.

[726] After these preparations the Kazaks advanced, attacked the Dzungas, and won a number of battles against them, and re-
[727] covered their old lands. But as they expected new attacks from Galdan Tsyren, they found it more opportune to move away from this dangerous neighbor, and some retreated to the north, while others moved westward. Only the Great Horde remained near the Dzungars, and they submitted to the latter almost in entirety, as we shall soon see. The Little Horde did not stop at the Emba
175 River, which was formerly the border, when they arrived there,
166 but crossed over to the right bank and attacked the Volga
726 Kalmuks, and after seizing a large part of their pasture lands, they moved all the way to the Ural River. The Middle Horde moved north to the Ori and the Ui, and drove out many Bashkirs from the vicinity of these rivers. Although the strength of the

/207 cont./

354 The hearth, around which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love to sit, not only when eating, but also when conversing, is called "otbosy." There is a concept of happiness connected with it, and for this reason a sacrifice is given to it on certain occasions (see wedding).

342 778 The yurt plays an important role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The paternal yurt ("ul'kun chengarak") is considered sacred. Judgments of important /208/ questions affecting the whole clan take place in it. The wife of a son who has received his [606] allotment is obliged to come to his father's yurt after the birth of a child, to bow there three times, and to put fat in the hearth.

[782] The Kirghiz /Kazak/ often swear by the yurt ("kottukadam uyumde aiz eteмen, ar' kimnei uz' de uzike meshet'" -- "I swear by the sacred yurt, my yurt is a temple of God").

Kirghiz /Kazak/ children by a yurt (from a photograph by Bebenin).

342 672 Any person in a yurt is considered to be under the protection of the master of the yurt, and [291] [492] [516] → to offend the former is to insult the master. It is the custom, for example, to hitch gift animals to the door of the yurt, and if any sort of misfortune results from this (for example, if a horse kicks someone who is passing) the master of the yurt does not answer for it. And if something bad is caused by the horse of a newcomer, the latter answers for this before the court of the biy, since he is required to hitch the horse at the back of the yurt.

342 In general the yurt plays an outstanding role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, since it is the place where he passes his entire life and where his family relationships and those of his everyday life take their form.

/219 cont./

844 Births take place under the same conditions as among the peasants in the remote corners of our fatherland. A midwife is present, who has recourse to rough methods in difficult cases, not infrequently causing the death of the woman in labor. On
553 the fifth day the child is given a name, usually by the midwife (it is usually the name of some object -- bridle, whip, vessel, cord, etc., in general whatever comes into the head). More rarely the name is given by the aksakal, and then it is given in memory of some well-known ancestor of the clan, or the name may be given by the mullah. In this case the children receive names of persons connected in one way or another with
852 Mohammed. Circumcision takes place in the fifth year. On
304 the occasion of propitious births the Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not
844 forget to arrange a feast and to celebrate this event.

764 Funerals are quite simple. The deceased is placed on the left side of the yurt (near the entrance) behind a partition of chiy grass, and couriers are sent through the villages with the news. All those acquainted in any degree with the deceased consider /220/ it their duty to visit the deceased without fail, since by this (according to Moslem law) the sins of the deceased and of the visitor himself are alleviated. The friends of the deceased who are his contemporaries make the ablutions, and for this they receive his clothing. The others usually weep loudly and express their condolences to his family. They wrap the dead in a white sheet (or silk) called "akhret" (i.e., "the end of the world," or the clothing of the other world) and fasten it with string at the head, waist, and feet. After this he is carried out of the village to an open place, laid on the ground in such a way that the face is toward the southwest (in the direction of Mecca), i.e., the head at the northeast, and the body not flat on its back but slightly on the side (on the
•[782] shoulder). Here the prayer "dzhanata" (the liberation of the soul) is read in Arabic. The mullah usually asks: "was he (the deceased) without sin?" To which those present reply: "He was
[783] without sin." If he was sinful, the mullah proposes that the sins of the deceased be redeemed with livestock. Formerly this redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah.

/220 cont./

793 to supplement their education they travel to the learned centers of Islam -- to Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent, and Samarkand (1).

1. The volost mullah is called akhun. The chief spiritual figure (with the power of our /Eastern Orthodox/ bishop /arkhierey/) is the Mufti, who lives in European Russia.

799 787 788 Recently, with the intensification of connections with the Moslems of Central Asia, /221/ Islam has begun to take deeper root. /Illustration appears here./ This can be deduced indirectly by the increase of pilgrimages to Mecca. In 1901 up to 300 pilgrimage tickets were issued in Omsk.

796 782 Among the holidays we will mention "Kurbanayz" ("the sacrifice," symbolizing the offering of Isaac as a sacrifice). On this holiday it is necessary to slaughter (offer as a sacrifice) the best male animal (horse or bull, "so that in the other world, when the sinners are driven through hell along a thin tightrope as sharp as a saber, they will have something on which to ride"). Usually one animal is slaughtered for every seven persons. According to an old custom the rich invite all the poor of the village to eat with them. The hides of the animals go to the mullah. The holiday is accompanied by games and amusements. Of these the races, in which girls also take part, are popular. The adults delight in the running of their best racers, while the young people amuse themselves by chasing each other. If a young man catches a girl, he is permitted to kiss her. If he fails to catch her, the girl will chase him back. This is a movable holiday.

796 526

796 785 In memory of the fasting of Mohammed, there has been established a thirty-day "uraza" (fast), and the month of this fast is called "Ramazan." During this time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is obliged to renounce food and drink from sunrise ("as soon as only a thread is visible") until sundown. Eating is permissible only at night. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have adapted themselves to this by eating and drinking all night and sleeping during the daytime. In winter this fast passes easily, but in summer, when

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 509 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 (131) (241) The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

584 generally visited the girl in secret, without the knowledge of her father.[133] This cannot be regarded as true matri-patrilocal residence, because the groom did not really participate in the life of the bride's family; he only visited the girl's camp stealthily, as a stranger; he had not acquired a social position yet. It was only on the payment of the full kalym that the groom acquired full rights as a husband and the official wedding took place. Then the youth was given his tent, and took his bride to his father's residence, according to the rule of patrilocal residence.[134]

585 872 782 The Kazakh wedding embodied many features of the Asiatic steppe pattern generally. The bride on entering her husband's tent for the first time made obeisance to the fire in the husband's new yurt; and in addition she fed the fire with pieces of fat, a trait spread in the Altaic world from the Kalmuks to the Buryats, and forming part of the general shamanistic fire ceremonial.[135]

852 This ceremonial was repeated among the Great Horde Kazakhs on the birth of the first child, bowing to the fire and feeding it with pieces of fat. However, in addition, if the first child was a boy, it was an occasion for great

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[133] Radloff, op. cit., I, 477.

[134] Idem.

[135] Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus.

[Great Horde]

rejoicing and celebration, while if it was a girl, no celebration at all took place.[136]

The wife never ceased to maintain a significant relationship with her father's family, and she was never fully incorporated as a member of her husband's lineage and family. The fire ceremonial may be regarded in the same light as it is elsewhere on the steppe; its function is a propitiation by the wife of the spirits of the husband's line, a part of the shamanist religion, in which her spirits were antipathetic to his. Sociologically as well as religiously, moreover, the wife continued to retain her ties to her father's line. Thus if the husband killed his wife, he had to pay a fine of a full kun of 200 horses, the amount paid by a convicted murderer in restitution to the family of the victim.[137] If the wife committed suicide because of her husband's maltreatment, the husband paid half a kun, or 100 horses, to her family.[138]

The social position of the wife may be further clarified by an examination of the kalym. If this were an economic and legal transaction pure and simple, her position would be clear: she would have to be regarded as a res or chattel, and kalym could then be translated as

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[136] Radloff, op. cit., I, 475-477.

[137] Izrastsov, 87.

[138] Ibid., 93.